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Charlotte ROUECHÉ

**A NEW GOVERNOR OF
CARIA-PHRYGIA :
P. AELIUS SEPTIMIUS MANNUS**

The inscription presented here was discovered at Aphrodisias in 1988; it was a stray find, uncovered during the making of a track across the fields to the excavation area south of the Portico of Tiberius.¹ It is in many ways very tantalising - it lacks, for the time being at least, an archaeological context, and it also lacks a context within the history of the city, since the name of the dedicator is lost. But Joyce Reynolds and I felt that it would be an appropriate text for inclusion in a volume for François Jacques, since it adds a little more to our understanding of the evolution of the administration of the Roman Empire in the third century, a subject which he did so much to illuminate.

The text

Upper part of a simple base without moulding (H. 0.52 x W. 0.455 x D. 0.42), chipped at edges. Letters standard 2nd - 3rd century forms, 0.025 - 0.03. Ligature: NH (1.4). There are apices over initial aspirated vowels.

Loose find in a field wall west of Basilica.

Now in dighouse; excavation inventory no. 88.24

Plate (Photograph by Mehmet Ali Dogenci)

¹ My work at Aphrodisias has been made possible by Professor Kenan Erim, who conducted the excavations at Aphrodisias on behalf of New York University until his death in 1990, and by his successor, Professor R. R. R. Smith. I am also very grateful to colleagues with whom I have discussed this inscription, and who have provided further information, some in advance of publication, especially David French, Fergus Millar, Johannes Nollé, Joyce Reynolds and Ender Varinglioglu.

Πόπλιον Αἴλιον
 υ. Σεπτίμιον υ.
 Μάννον stop τὸν
 λαμπρότατον ἡ-
 γεμόνα ὑπατι-
 κὸν stop ἔνδοξον

10.

ἀνδρεῖον ἀγνὸν
 φιλανθρώπον stop δι'
 ἀπάσης ἤκοντα
 ἀρετῆς τὸν ἑαυ-
 τοῦ εὐεργέτη[ν]
 [...? vacat ...]
 [...]

Translation: [So-and-so honoured] Publius Aelius Septimius Mannus, the *clarissimus*, governor (*praeses*), consular, distinguished, brave, pure, generous, having achieved all virtue, his/its benefactor [...]



There was presumably a capital to this base, which may well have named the dedicating authority, as commonly at Aphrodisias: for an example where the capital survives, compare the inscription for another governor of this period, Asclepiodotus.² But Mannus is described as the benefactor of a masculine entity (ll.10-11). This suggests that the inscription was put up not by the city (which is only described by feminine terms) but either by the *demos*,³ or by an individual; this could have been a private citizen,⁴ or, more probably in the case of a governor, the presiding magistrate, whose name would have appeared on the lower part of the base, perhaps after a space. In the case of Asclepiodotus, there is a certain ambiguity in the inscription, where both the fatherland (at the beginning of the text) and the presiding magistrate (at the end) are named in the nominative, as if directly responsible for the monument. But the parallel with the wording of the inscription for another governor, M. Aurelius Diogenes (see below) suggests that the dedicator is the *demos*; Diogenes was honoured with at least two statues, probably put up by different civic bodies, and the same may well have been done for Mannus.

The man

The name Mannus could be from the east or the west of the empire: Mannus is the name given by Tacitus to the legendary founder of the German race (Tac. *Germ.* 2); but it seems to appear more often as the Latin /Greek translation of the Semitic name Ma'nu. It is used, for example, by a Jew at Rome,⁵ and by a citizen of Palmyra;⁶ it is also found at Edessa,⁷ where the name is used by several members of the royal family of Osrhoene. The kingdom was a client state of Rome from the 160s A.D., and members of its aristocracy might have acquired Roman citizenship at any time from then on. This man's names, with the nomen Aelius, suggest that his family might be connected to the rulers of Osrhoene

The succession of rulers of Osrhoene in the early third century has for some time been disputed; but the situation has been elucidated by recent discoveries.⁸ King Abgar the Great (176/7-211/2), L. Aelius Aurelius Septimius Abgarus⁹ supported Pescennius Niger against Severus. After he submitted to Severus, and gave his sons as hostages (Herodian 3.9.2), the bulk of his kingdom was annexed to form the Roman province of Osrhoene,

² C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London, 1989 : hereafter *ALA*), 7.

³ As, e.g., the honours for Julia Domna, *MAMA* VIII.452.

⁴ A possible parallel from the third century might be C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (London, 1993) no. 56.

⁵ *CIL* VI.29761, whence Frey, *CIJ* 472.

⁶ J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre I* (Beirut, 1950), 23.

⁷ *P. Dura* 28.

⁸ The evidence is fully set out by F. G. B. Millar, *The Roman Near East* (Harvard, 1993). I am extremely grateful to Professor Millar for his advice, and for showing me his material in advance of publication; his Appendix C includes an discussion of the King-List of Edessa, and the account here is based on his conclusions.

⁹ *PIR*² A 8.

leaving him with a small kingdom based on Edessa.¹⁰ He remained on good terms with the Romans, and even visited Rome with an impressive entourage (Cassius Dio 79.16.2). His son, 'Abgar Severus' apparently reigned for only just over 18 months, and was then deposed by Caracalla. The kingdom was annexed, and Edessa became a Roman *colonia*; but this did not mean that the kingly house was eliminated. According to a local chronicle, Abgar Severus was succeeded by (?) a son, Mannus, who reigned for 26 years (212/3-238/9). This statement has now been confirmed by new evidence. In recently published Syriac documents, the year 240/41 is described as the second year of Aelius Septimius Abgar, king of Edessa and son of 'crown-prince' Mannus, son of king Abgar. Mannus, therefore, seems to have had some intermediate status, not quite equal to that of his father or his son. But his son, Aelius Septimius Abgar, is described as 'king', and as 'honoured with *hypateia*' - consular rank. He appears only to have reigned for a couple of years; the monarchy seems to have ended with the Persian attack of 240-1.¹¹

The increased contacts with Rome in this period, and the reduction of opportunity in Osrhoene might have encouraged members of the royal family, or of the aristocracy of Osrhoene, to look for careers in Roman service at any time in the first half of the third century; and after the final extinction of the monarchy in the early 240s, this is even more likely. Abgar, a son of 'the former King Abgar', died at Rome, aged 26, and was buried there by his brother Antoninus; the metrical epitaph is lost, and it is impossible to be certain to which generation of the royal family these men belonged.¹² An L. Septimius Mannus, *clarissimus vir*, was honoured by the concilium of Hispania Tarraconensis, where he was probably *legatus iuridicus*, apparently in the mid-third century.¹³ J. Nollé has recently published a new inscription from Selge, honouring a Septimius Mannus (no more of his name survives) as proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia, probably in the early or middle third century.¹⁴ In that inscription Selge is described as his *patris*, 'homeland'; this therefore suggests the possibility that a family from Osrhoene had settled there. The Mannus at Selge, since his name only survives in part, could be identified either with L. Septimius Mannus, the legate in Spain, or with P. Aelius Septimius Mannus at Aphrodisias.

The nomenclature of our P. Aelius Septimius Mannus, particularly the 'Aelius' suggests that he might well be a member of the royal family of

¹⁰ See most recently J. Wagner, 'Provincia Osrhoenae: new archeological finds illustrating the military organisation under the Severan dynasty', in St. Mitchell ed., *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia* (Oxford, 1983), 103-30.

¹¹ The new documents: J. Teixidor, 'Les derniers rois d'Édesse d'après deux documents syriaques', *ZPE* 76 (1989), 219-22; 'Deux documents syriaques du III^e siècle après J.-C. provenant du Moyen Euphrate', *CRAI* (1990), 144-66.

¹² *IGUR* 1142: οἶσιν ὁ πρὶν βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος ἦν γενέτης.

¹³ *PIR* S 335; G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (Wiesbaden 1969), 111.

¹⁴ *Epigraphica Anatolica* 12 (1988) 134-5; *Die Inschriften von Selge* (Bonn, 1991), *IGSK* 37, no. 12.

Osrhoene. It may be that he was even a son of the last king, Aelius Septimius Abgar, himself a man of consular rank, for whom some suitably distinguished post in the Roman administration needed to be found. If so, this can serve as a useful reminder of the fact that one of the most important aspects of administrative re-organisation in ancient societies was that it offered the opportunity to provide new posts for people who wanted them; such considerations may have been far more telling than arguments of administrative convenience. It is even possible that Mannus brought members of his entourage to serve under him, who then stayed on; an Aurelius Mannus served on the staff of a later governor of Phrygia-Caria (see below, *Fasti* no.9).

Language

The titles used by this man make it clear that he is a provincial governor of senatorial rank. The combination ὑπατικὸς ὁς ἡγεμῶν is not a standard one, but it is used of several governors of the province of Caria and Phrygia after its creation in the mid-third century: the man who was probably the first governor of the new province, Q. Fabius Clodius Agrippianus Celsinus (see *Fasti*, below, 1); a governor whose name was erased (*Fasti* 4); T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus, in the second half of the third century (*Fasti* 8); and L. Castrius Constans (*Fasti* 9).

The phrasing in ll 7-12: ἔνδοξον ἀνδρεῖον ἀγνὸν φιλανθρώπων δι' ἀπάσης ἥκοντα ἀρετῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην is virtually identical with that used in one inscription¹⁵ of M. Aurelius Diogenes (*Fasti* 2); that closeness of expression makes it likely that Mannus was a fairly close contemporary. The layout of the inscription on the stone is also similar to that of the inscriptions honouring Diogenes. Since we now know that Diogenes was governor in 255, it seems a reasonable conjecture that P. Aelius Septimius Mannus either succeeded Celsinus (*Fasti* 1) and preceded Diogenes, or succeeded Diogenes as governor of the joint province.

It is worth observing that similar rather general praises were applied to other governors of the province: Celsinus is honoured at Alia as ἀγνὸν καὶ δίκαιον, Diogenes is described at Aphrodisias as τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένον. This phrasing seems to reflect a widespread trend at this period to describe officials with generalising laudatory formulae rather than with lists of their previous offices: this should perhaps be seen as part of the same process as the move from prose to verse to praise officials, which was taking place precisely during the third century.¹⁶

¹⁵ ALA 6.

¹⁶ See C. Roueché, 'Benefactors in the late Roman period : the eastern empire', in *Acts of the X^e congrès international d'Épigraphie grecque et Latine* (forthcoming).

The Fasti

Governors of Caria and Phrygia

Since the publication of the first inscriptions which made it clear that the province of Phrygia and Caria was created in the middle of the third century,¹⁷ more and more new evidence has emerged for the existence of the new province, and for its creation. D. French and C. Roueché published proposed fasti for the province in 1982;¹⁸ C. Roueché published a revised account in 1989;¹⁹ and that list again requires to be supplemented.

Joyce Reynolds has published a new inscription from Aphrodisias, honouring L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus as proconsul of Asia; he is referred to as having held office for several years (three are certainly attested, and may have been the total) in a period which must fall between 241/2 and 247/8, and the new inscription is likely to fall in his last year. This strengthens the probability that Phrygia and Caria remained part of Asia throughout most, if not all, of the forties.²⁰ There remain now only a couple of years to be accounted for between the last attestation of the old arrangements, and the first attestation of the new province: it is therefore possible that the first governor attested there was in fact the first governor.

Late 249 - early 250:

1. **Q. Fabius Clodius Agrippianus Celsinus** is attested as *clarissimus consularis* on a milestone at Dorylaeum and simply as *egregius* on milestones at Iasos and Keramos. Those at Dorylaeum and Keramos are dated under Decius and Herennia, so between the accession of Decius in 249 and the declaration of his sons as Caesars in early 250; that at Iasos refers to a single emperor.²¹ His full name and titulature have been found in an honorific inscription, put up by the city of Alia in Phrygia where he is described as τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν . . . ἡγεμόνα Φρυγία[ς] καὶ Καρίας τὸν [σω]τήρα τῶν ἔθνω[ν] καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐπ[αρ]χείων, τὸν ἀγνὸν καὶ δίκαιον.²² The expression 'saviour of the *ethne*' in this context presumably refers to the two *ethne* which he governed, the Phrygians and the Carians and is not entirely without parallel (compare Asclepiodotus, below, and

¹⁷ C. Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias in the Third Century', *JRS* 71 (1981), 103-20.

¹⁸ 'Governors of Phrygia and Caria', *ZPE* 49 (1982), 159-60.

¹⁹ *ALA*, 319-21.

²⁰ J. M. Reynolds 'L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus and Carian Aphrodisias', *Mélanges M. Le Glay*, Latomus 226, Bruxelles, 1994, 675-80.

²¹ Dorylaeum: S. Frei-Korsunsky, 'Meilensteine aus der Gegend von Eskisehir', *EA* 8 (1986), 91-5; Keramos: E. Varinlioglu and D. H. French, 'Four Milestones from Ceramus', *REA* 93 (1991), 123-37, nos. 1 and 2.1; Iasos: most recently published by W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos I*, *IGSK* 28.1, (Köln, 1985), 18.

²² D. H. French, 'Sites and Inscriptions from Phrygia, Pisidia and Pamphylia', *EA* 17 (1991), 57-9 and pl. 10.

ALA 14); but the reference to neighbouring provinces is extremely unusual (see further J. M. Reynolds, 'Lollianus').

255.

2. **M. Aurelius Diogenes**, *clarissimus*, was honoured at Aphrodisias as πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστῶν ἀντιστράτηγος and ἡγέμων (ALA 5 and 6) under Valerian and Gallienus, so at some time between 253-260. He was also named as πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τῶν Σεβαστῶν on a milestone at Keramos, dateable to 255.²³ He might therefore have succeeded Celsinus, but there would be room for a governorship in between.

250s

3. **P. Aelius Septimius Mannus**, *clarissimus*, ὑπατικὸς ἡγέμων, was honoured in terms so similar to those used of Diogenes that their periods of office are likely to have been fairly close.

Under plural emperors, and so before 260 or after 283

4. **Anonymus** (name erased) *v.c.*: Honoured at Hierapolis (ὑπατικὸς ἡγέμων) and at Laodicea (πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τῶν Σεβαστῶν). I argued before that this man should be dated before 260, against A. H. M. Jones' suggestion that he had held office under the sons of Constantine. But a date under Carus might be considered, since the *damnatio* of Carus might perhaps have been a reason for the erasure of the name, as that of an official associated with him.²⁴

5. **Iulius Iulianus**, *v.e.*, procurator and acting governor under plural emperors: regulating border dispute near Pinarbasi;²⁵ the stone has been further studied by D. H. French, who points out that it was found still demarcating the boundary between two villages.²⁶ It is tempting to associate his assumption of office with the perhaps sudden departure of the anonymus governor. Christol and Drew-Bear suggest that a date in the early part of the history of the joint province would better suit the titulature of the functionary responsible for the stone.

Before 282

6. **Aurelius Maximus**: under a single emperor: Milestone at Tekin, Phrygia.²⁷

²³ Varinlioglu and French, 'Four Milestones', 2.2. This discovery confirms the suggestion by M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, 'Une délimitation de territoire en Phrygie-Carie', *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie* 1982, Collection Turcica 2 (1982), 23-42, 35 n.32, that Diogenes was in office before the establishment of the sons of Gallienus as Caesars, in 256.

²⁴ Hierapolis: *IGR* IV.814; Laodicea: *JRS* 20 (1932), 24, with Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 109-11.

²⁵ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, 'Une délimitation de territoire', 23-42.

²⁶ 'Sites and inscriptions', 57, and plate 9.

²⁷ D. H. French, 'Milestones of Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia and Lycia', *ZPE* 43 (1981), 149-74, 172 no.15.ii.

282-283

7. **Asclepiodotus**, *v.p.*, was responsible for a milestone at Tekin, Phrygia under Carus, Carinus and Numerian.²⁸

David French and I have argued that he should be identified with

8. **T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus**, *v.c.*, honoured at Aphrodisias, his native city, (τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας, ALA 7); if the two inscriptions refer to the same man he was in office in 282/3, presumably being upgraded from equestrian to senatorial rank while he held office. But M. Christol questions this identification, although he does not rule it out completely. If he is right, T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus may have been governor at any time from the mid-250s.²⁹ It is perhaps worth observing that he is honoured as 'saviour also of his homeland', which perhaps conveys an echo of the terminology used of Celsinus (Fasti 1).

? After 282

9. **L. Castrius Constans**, *v.c.*: he is mentioned on the tombstone of a member of the governor's *officium* found at Eumeneia, in Phrygia, simply as ἡγέμων, suggesting that his authority extended over that area.³⁰ He was also responsible for a milestone at Heraclea Salbace in Caria (on which he is described as ὑπατικὸς ἡγέμων) which has been dated under the tetrarchs;³¹ but Dr. David French, who has examined the stone, kindly informs me that he appears to be governor under only two emperors, without any mention of Caesars, so perhaps under Diocletian and Maximian, (286-93) or even earlier. The soldier who served under him and was buried at Eumeneia, in a tomb provided by a friend, was called Aurelius Mannus. It is tempting to suggest that he had come to serve on the staff of the provincial governor under his namesake, P. Aelius Septimius Mannus (who might also have been a compatriot), and had stayed on: such a supposition might suggest an earlier date for Castrius Constans - perhaps under Valerian and Gallienus.

286-305

10. **Priscus**, *v.c.*: Dedication to Maximian, at Docimium.³²

Priscus is the latest dateable governor of the joint province with senatorial rank.

²⁸ French, 'Milestones of Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia and Lycia', 172, no. 15.iii.

²⁹ D. H. French and C. M. Roueché, 'Governors of Phrygia and Caria', 159-60; Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la deuxième moitié du III^e s. ap. J.C.* (Paris, 1986), 219-21.

³⁰ IGR IV.731.

³¹ MAMA VI.94; see Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 111.

³² CIL III.14191², with Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 110.

11. **Iu[...]**, *v.p.* : responsible for a dedication to Maximian, at Dorylaeum; perhaps a governor of Phrygia.³³

301

12. **Tiberius Fulvius Asticus**, *v.p.* : sent an edict, recommending its display, with the copy of the Price Edict which is inscribed at Aezani in Phrygia; he is attested on milestones at Alabanda, Mylasa, Halicarnassus, and at Keramos, which is the first inscription to give his *praenomen*.³⁴

Uncertain date

13. ? **Anicius Asper**, *v.c.* : Honoured at Laodicea; see Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 111.

14. **Fl. Optimus**, *v.p.* : Honoured at Meirus (*JHS* 17 (1897), 424 no.22, with Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 111); perhaps a governor of Phrygia.

15. **Valerius Rinacius**. I am grateful to David French and Ender Varinlioglu for permission to refer to a further milestone from Keramos which they will shortly be publishing. This refers to a governor (ἡγέμων) Valerius Rinacius, without indicating his status, or the date: he might be a governor of the joint province, or simply of Caria. The other texts on this face of the stone refer, one to the first tetrarchy, of Diocletian (293-305), and the other to the second tetrarchy, of Constantius and Maximian (305-6); it is not clear that the governor's inscription is connected with either of these.

The first governor of a separate province of Caria was appointed before the end of the tetrarchy:

After 301, before May 305

16. **Aurelius Marcellus**, *v.p., praes. prov. Cariae*, makes a dedication to the tetrarchs at Halicarnassus.³⁵

Another equestrian praeses of Caria is now attested:

317

17. **Firminianus**, *v.p.*, on a milestone at Keramos.³⁶

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³³ *IGR* IV.523, with Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 111.

³⁴ Aezani : *JRS* 65 (1975) 160 ; Alabanda : *CIL* III.480 ; Mylasa : French, 'Milestones of Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia and Lycia', 173 no.16.ii ; Halicarnassus : French, 'Milestones of Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia and Lycia', 16.i, and a second, unpublished, reported by C. Foss ; Keramos : Varinlioglu and French, 'Four Milestones', 3.1.

³⁵ *ILS* 635 ; *PLRE* I Marcellus 9.

³⁶ Varinlioglu and French, 'Four Milestones', 3.1.